423 [425] obliged to submit to the same obligations as his predecessor. If he is a Mututsi, he is not required to pay any ground rent, and the chief gives him a pasture in addition.

Rights of way and of access are not private. The hill people may move about freely on each other's land. This is also true of the cattle for which special paths are made.

622 692 In the case of a dispute in matters of landed property, litigation is taken to the hill chief who goes to the place and, after having heard the witnesses, decides between the plaintifs.

3. Customary Law of Hunting

224 Customary laws of hunting are very numerous. Of these we will quote only a few of the most frequent cases.

A native hunting alone who has killed an ordinary antelope (impongo) takes the meat and skins the animal.

224 622 Hunting with beaters is organized by the chief who decides on the land to be beaten after having taken the advice of the [44] expert Batutsi or Bahutu hunters and following the indications of the trackers. The chief also chooses the beaters from among the least good shots. To stimulate their zeal in this thankless task, he promises them pots of beer if the hunt is successful.

224 The natives are required to take part in the hunt, but they fulfill this obligation willingly as it is a much appreciated entertainment and also a source of profit.

Whoever first wounds an animal during a battue or beat, is presumed to have killed it. He is entitled to the skin and one rear leg. The meat is divided among all the Batutsi and Bahutu hunters. The hunter who has killed several antelopes may keep the skin of one animal.

224 643 Whoever finds an animal that has been killed must return it to the hunters. At least theoretically, game belongs to the king and skins of any value (1) must be turned over to him, especially those of

281 1. Skins of marsh antelopes are much appreciated by the Batutsi because of their long silky fur with which they make bed coverings. Skins of the "bush bock" and

281 leopard are used as dance ornaments by the intore pages.

224 [643] the otter (inzibyi or igihura), the marsh antelope (mpala), the "bush bock" (inzole), the lion, and the leopard, as well as ivory tusks.

[622] If a wild beast such as a lion or leopard has been killed, its skin must be turned over to the chief who in exchange gives the hunters a sterile cow as ingororano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 48.

224 622 643 When the hill chief hunts with his people, he keeps some of the skins and gives the others to the provincial chief, who in turn keeps some of them and, if he considers it advantageous to himself, sends the others to the Mwami. If the hill chief has killed a lion or a leopard, the skin must be turned over to the Mwami. If there are two skins they are divided between the king and the provincial chief. The [45] hill chief may keep a leopardskin only if the hunt has been particularly fruitful.

224 The native who has killed three elephants has the sole right to the tusks of the third animal killed.

224 825 Finally, a hunter is forbidden to take any part of a crocodile he has killed. The animal with its paws loaded with stones must be thrown to the bottom of the river, for the Banyarwanda believe that the body of the saurian contains a violent poison and they want to prevent its being used.

224 When an animal is pointed out, the beaters who have gone forward into the thickets where they are almost invisible and the hunters who have followed them must indicate their presence by a low whistle. Hunting accidents are regulated by customary law (1).

1. Cf. Penal Law, p. 98.

5. Small Domestic Animals

422 231 The Mwami has a rather theoretical right of ownership of small livestock which are considered valueless by the large stockbreeders.

Consequently, the Bahutu can sell or keep for their own consumption goats and sheep.

[235] Poultry also belongs to the Bahutu who are required to provide, without remuneration, the chicks needed for divinatory sacrifices. Hens and eggs are not eaten by natives and therefore, except in the neighborhood of European posts, have no commercial value.

Small livestock as well as poultry are the exclusive property of men.

● [224] The Banyarwanda are very fond of their hunting dogs. The Batutsi will pay as much as one or two cows for a dog that is known for its hunting qualities.

6. Other Personal Property and Real Estate

423 Among the Batutsi, the husband and each of his wives live in their individual rugo, but all these dwellings belong to the husband. In the same way, among the Bahutu, the hut and its annexes belong to the husband.

422 Work tools belong to the husband. The wife and children may not lend them without his permission, except for a short time.

[60] Household utensils given the wife by her husband remain his property. But the ibirongoranywa (1), that is to say,

1. Cf. note 1, p. 44.

the objects, utensils, and clothing, given by the father to his daughter at the time of her marriage, often equal to the value of several cows, or even consisting of cows, belong to the wife. She may dispose of them as she chooses, except in the case of cows.

Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer, but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

262 As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals, they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

714 Finally, battle dress is part of the fighting equipment of the Murundi. When the bodyguards of the king -- who are, as we shall see later (p. 87), the actual combatants -- march out for battle, they wear a uniform consisting of an apron of white tanned antelope hide or sheepskin (inkindi), and they paint [302] their skulls, faces, and the upper part of their bodies with all kinds of white and red lines and ornaments which give them a terrifying, savage appearance (No. 19, p. 277). This hide apron uniform is also worn at war dances. It is much the same in Ruanda where, in addition to this uniform, other decorations, for example, a headdress and foot rattles, are also worn. The Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind of war costume as here and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Lechaptois, No. 47, p. 61).

172 411 Old stone weapons, the remnants of former cultures which have disappeared (see p. 151 [not translated]), are not in use any more in Urundi even among the Batwa who are the oldest ethnic element; the same is true in Ruanda.

[36] Chapter 4

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farming, Agriculture, Stimulants

1. Hunting and Fishing

● 224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays only a small role in the existence of the Barundi, for in an area which is so densely populated and almost completely denuded of forests and where game has been systematically exterminated in the interests of cattle farming and pastures as in the regions settled by the Boers, there are only a few animals left which one might hunt. It appears that the most frequent ones are the bushbuck (Tragelaphus) which are found mainly in the narrow bush thickets of the deep valleys of the streams and also the tufted antelope, gazelle, and the Jimela antelope. As far as other big game fit for hunting are concerned, the elephant is occasionally found in the thinly populated areas, in the deserted forests of the western peripheral

●224 mountains, and in the Ruzizi lowlands. The hippopotamus, however, is still rather frequent; it finds food and shelter in all the sizable rivers and swamps. There are leopards everywhere but most of all in northeast Urundi.

It is seldom that the Murundi hunts (kuhiga) alone with his weapon. At times chiefs arrange hunting drives with from 10 to 20 persons; these, however, are more a sport than hunting and have only the single practical purpose of obtaining antelope hides for the war dress mentioned above and horns for trumpets and amulets. The Batussi and Bahutu do not eat the [224] meat of the hunted animals since they consider it impure; they give it to the Batwa or to the dogs who play an essential part [231] in each drive. The dogs can hardly be called hunting dogs as we understand the term (see p. 48), for they do nothing but rouse and pursue the game. They are the common Murundi dogs with pointed ears. Old King Kisabo had a real pack of hounds for hunting. The dogs wear a leather collar with an iron bell or rattle whose clanging and rattling scares the game, and they are kept on the leash until the hunters have taken their stand in a wide semicircle around the area where the game is suspected to be. The dogs are then released into the thicket. They soon scare the game with the rattling of their bells and finally hold it at bay by concerted attack so the hunters may approach and kill the animal with arrows or spears (No. 19, p. 100).

That the Forest Batwa, who earn their livelihood mainly by hunting, are much better hunters hardly requires explanation; in most cases they hunt in pairs. Above all elephant hunting in the forests of the northwestern peripheral mountains is their exclusive specialty. For this purpose and also for killing other big game, such as the hippopotamus, they use deep pits (itschjobo) which are dug on the paths where game usually pass. Sharp-pointed poles are placed in an upright position [37] at the bottom of the pits whose steep walls are up to eight meters high; these poles are supposed to injure or kill the animal falling into the pit. The hole is carefully covered with branches and leaves. An animal which has fallen into the pit and is still alive is killed with spears. The natives build very solid traps to catch

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones [563] who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [262] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

2: Meyer--258 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Herd of Livestock (Cattle, Sheep, Goats) in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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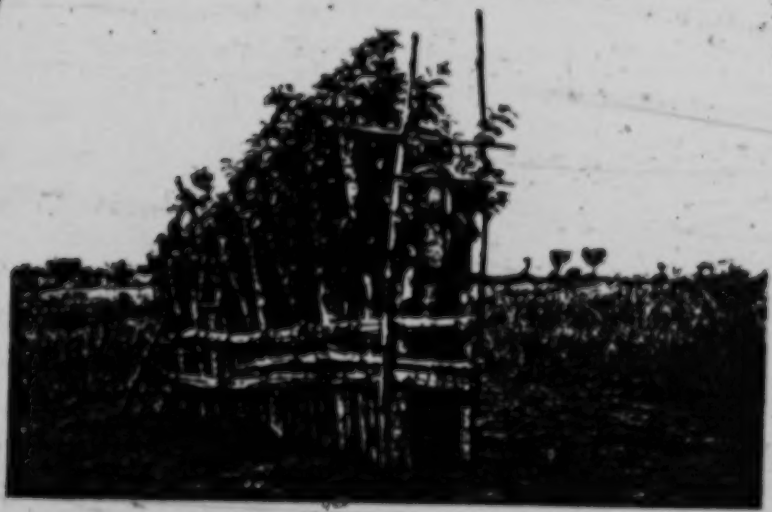

Leopard Trap in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other populations [534] ; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom ; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district : such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life : for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in
461

1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

● 224 The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as [195] though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

224 inkezi, and monkeys (1), whose flesh they eat. This makes them

[825] 1. Only the chimpanzee (impndu) and the gorilla (ingagi) escape the cooking pot because, as the Pygmies say with a shade of malice, "they were formerly our peers (ngo n'abatwa bachu) and only with time have they degenerated and turned into animals (ngo zahinduts' inyamaswa)!"

[783]

[411] most "impure" in the eyes of the others. They handle bows and wooden arrows with great skill. Although they are always on the watch for game, they cannot derive all their subsistance from it. The plants and wild roots of the forest are not sufficient either. In former times, [574] they used to hold for ransom those travelers who had the temerity to cross their domain, and they raided the Bahutu fields. Now that 463 European authorities have put an end to these acts of pillage, they have found new sources of revenues in the making of ropes, baskets, and bows, which they sell in the villages or take to market. One may no longer say of the Negrillos of Ruanda that they are still at the "gathering stage." They have been beyond it for an indeterminate period of time.

563 The great Batutsi chiefs like to have a few Batwa around them 696 and use them chiefly as litter bearers. Many of them live at the capital where they are used in various capacities as guards and watchmen. Executioners are recruited among them. They like to exercise this function, for they keep the victims' remains.

It must be added that they showed unequaled cruelty in the exercise of this horrible function. The screams of the victims aroused no pity in them. European penetration has fortunately put an end to this dismal vocation.

224 The Negrillos live in very primitive huts made of branches, [342] /36/ which do not provide complete protection against the inclemency of the seasons or wild animals. The latter do not usually arouse much fear in them, since they are familiar with their habits and lairs.

1 [i.e., the eating of various meats by the Batwa. -Ann'ys+]

224 They climb trees like squirrels to escape danger or to be on the lookout.
[48] They may spend a week or even two without returning home when tracking game, especially if an elephant is at stake. The wooded area is their domain. They know its thickets and crannies, and they track animals everywhere, stealthily through thorns and scrub, without ever running the risk of getting lost.

361 Pygmies live in groups of six or seven families scattered through
423 the forest, which they have divided up like family property by settling their respective boundaries so as not to get in each other's way.

578 Hunting in a forbidden zone or even in a contested one has given rise to more than one bloody quarrel among brothers and friends.

There are hardly 15 of such groups of Negrillo hunters, who would find it hard to subsist if meat were their only food.

311 Willfully set fires for clearing purposes which have impoverished the forested land, as well as new political conditions which are gradually transforming the society, contribute to the dwindling of their food resources.

Soon, therefore, we may see the last representatives of those woodsmen join their other compatriots, the potters scattered through the Bahutu villages, or else start farming as some of them are already doing.

563 The Batwa live as a group apart. They do not mix with the Bahutu and much less with the Batutsi. They are a despised caste.

631 Ruanda was not politically united from the beginning. In the following pages we shall see that it was parceled /37/ into a considerable number of tiny kingdoms and small independent principalities. The lands inhabited for the longest time seem to have been the Ndorwa, Buganza, Gissaka, and Bugessera in the northeast, the Nduga and Munyambiriri in the center, and the Bwana-Mkali in the southeast. The areas located in the northwest, the Mulera, Bugoyi, Bgisha, Kanage, etc., were slowly won over the forest and settled by people who came from neighboring regions.

642 Politically, Ruanda is an absolute monarchy.

The Banyarwanda belong to the type of society that is "more stratified, characterized by the establishment of a centralized power whose automatically binding warrants are transmitted to the humblest

[i.e., the Batwa. - Analyst]

His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba...," pronounced in a virile tone, recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye...."

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i..." to recall that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

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198

Umumkari		Umugore	Woman
Umwere wa giti		Umwana	Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

754 and cite numerous examples to this effect. On the other hand, the ingredients used in their manufacture are not yet sufficiently known.

754 278 At best, one hears popular rumors of snakes, toads, human cadavers (imirundi y' abapfuye, n' ingobyi z' abana), crocodiles, etc., whose putrefied flesh was used. The Blacks are also convinced that the lungs of tuberculars are used to transmit the disease to other [164] people (1).

1. This illness is widespread among the Batutsi, who greatly fear it.

They know full well that it is fatal. Hence their great [578] curse, "May you die of tuberculosis!" (uragichwa n' igituntu).

According to popular belief, those lungs are dried out and crushed to powder so as to be slipped more easily into the drinking tube which is used to drink native beer. Menstrual blood (irungu), [84] which inspires in them an intense fear and an acute aversion, is popularly believed to cause slow poisoning when administered to an enemy. It is mixed in with his food secretly. There is also mention of poisonous juices, such as the milk of various kinds of euphorbia [824 847] (imiyenzi, imiduha, etc.) and of certain other plants, for example, muhoko, which is also used to induce abortions. Cactus milk and muhoko juice could only induce death in such quantities that the person involved would not fail to detect them while drinking. It is difficult, therefore, to make frequent use of those substances.

278 824 The Banyarwanda also regard as toxic /488/ the following plants: urwizilinga, umutambasha, and igisura. As we mentioned earlier, urwizilinga is a shrub somewhat similar to datura. It is the plant whose juice or powdered bark is used in trials by ordeal. The umutambasha is another shrub whose leaves are crushed to extract [224] the juice. The Banyarwanda use it to kill rats by mixing it with the food that is used as bait for those rodents.

5: Pagès--280 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

On the plain of the Mulèra in the middle of a field of sorghum. After an elephant hunt.

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516

Longhorn cows.

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231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda.

231 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part
43] in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of
[304] the king are castrated.

●224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

just as the Bahutu live by agriculture and the Batutsi by animal husbandry. The agricultural produce they require is obtained only by bartering game or by stealing.

The Batwa are most skillful hunters. Accompanied by their dogs, they pursue the game with bow and spear in hand. They are very skillful bowmen and can even shoot down birds. The king of Ruanda has received most of his ivory from them. In former times, before elephants became so scarce in the country, ivory is said to have been obtained in great quantities. The Batwa hunting grounds are the forests of the Congo watershed east of Lake Kivu and Ruzizi and the forests on the chain of volcanoes.

The other Banyaruanda also hunt a great deal, especially in Kissaka because of the wealth of game on the steppes. In the northeastern part of this province hunting plays an important role in the economy; here we find professional hunters (abahigi) and even elephant hunters (abayovu).

[145] Hunters usually work in groups. On hunting drives there are a large number of participants. They are organized by the head of the district who assembles the farmers equipped with spears and bows and arrows and accompanied by numerous dogs. Because of the extensive nature of the hunting grounds, signals are given with a cow horn. Nets are also used to mark off certain regions. The hunter who delivers the first blow gets the skin and a piece of meat; the others get only portions of meat. Valuable skins are given to the

Fig. 34. Harpoon Spear from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13769. 190 centimeters long.)

mutware [official], and the hunters share only in the meat. Hunting drives usually take place in the dry season, but sometimes they

224 are organized at the beginning of the rainy season.

Elephant hunters work in small groups and use a spear. The following is the procedure when an elephant herd or a single old bull is sighted. At a carefully chosen place the spears are planted obliquely into the ground, their points directed toward the elephants. The hunters conceal themselves, with the exception of one who must go after a certain elephant. If the irritated animal attacks the hunter, the latter flees in the direction of the spears, so that the charging elephant will ram into one of them. The wounded animal is then attacked from the rear by the hunters in ambush. Elephant meat is said to be eaten in Kissaka. The mutware gets a tusk. Elephants are found chiefly in Bugansa, north of Kissaka.

Aside from drives and the use of decoys, wild game is also hunted with traps and trap pits. The traps consist of a snare lying on the ground and fastened at one end to a young tree bent to the ground. When the animal runs against the snare, the tree straightens out, draws the snare taut, and lifts the animal by its neck or a leg. The pits are carefully covered with foliage, and the captured animals are killed with spears and then divided up.

223 Birds are caught with slings, but they are also shot with bird arrows which are dull or have four points. Partridges are said to be pursued on foot and killed with a stick after the birds are exhausted.

224 In Mulera where hunters are very skillful, probably due to Batwa influence, [146] a great many otters are speared. They use a spear with a barbed head and a broadened end, which is said to be used also in hunting hippopotamuses. The hippopotamus hunters try to creep up on their prey in small boats, a very dangerous but also very much admired sport.

231 Hunting dogs are greatly loved in Ruanda and kept in great numbers. Every chief has a rather large number of them. The [552] dogs are called by special names. I realized how fond they were of their dogs once when the porters of our returning supply caravan stole a small dog. Its owner did not hesitate to follow my column on its westerly march for three or four hours and across two lakes, hoping that the porters would run into my column and that, with the help of a European, he would get back his property. This

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The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this process.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

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There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid, but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is increasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

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fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grandfather. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favourite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these